



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

University of California
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Newsletter

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Newsletter of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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The Newsletter is published quarterly during the academic year. Please send suggestions, corrections or inquiries to the editor(s) at the above address. The submission deadline for our next issue is August 1, 1996. Submit mailing address changes to the Center attn: Tatiana Matulovetsky or call 510/642-3230. We welcome your comments and suggestions.

Notes from the Chair

As this newsletter goes to press, our region remains at the top of the news. The forthcoming Russian presidential election, an event with grave implications for the country's future, has given rise to much speculation and concern. Coming in the wake of left-wing electoral victories in some East European countries, this particular election will have far-reaching consequences for the future of democracy and economic reform not just in Russia but among the multitude of new nations that have emerged in the former Soviet empire. Faculty and graduate students associated with the Berkeley Center for Slavic and East European Studies are closely following the election, and some of us will be in Russia when people go to the polls in June and, most likely, again in July. Next fall we are planning a roundtable discussion devoted to an analysis of the Russian elections and their aftermath.

The Russian election roundtable is only one of a number of projects we are now beginning to organize for next year. At the moment, however, we are taking a rest from an active year at the Center. It is amazing to consider how many conferences and symposia the Center organized or sponsored during the 1995-1996 academic year. This spring alone we have had "The Russian Stravinsky" symposium and conferences on "Strategies of Nationhood in Multiethnic Settings" (Berkeley-Stanford Conference), "Double Lives: Women Writing in the Russian Tradition" (organized by Slavic department graduate students), "Ethnographies in Transition" (organized by Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery), "Russia, 1913: A Cultural Reconstruction" (organized by Olga Matich), "Writing Russian Cultural History" (the second Tartu-Berkeley Colloquium organized by Slavic department graduate students), "Crisis in the Balkans: An Historical and Contemporary View" (the Annual Teachers Outreach Conference), and "The Past as Prelude: The Cultural, Social and Political Roots of Identity in the Caucasus" (organized by Edward Walker as part of the Graduate Program in Caucasus Studies). As you can see, the Center has provided an extraordinary array of stimulating and informative events—all of them well attended!

In addition, we have sponsored a great many bag lunches and lectures, including the Colin Miller Endowed Lecture that brought Johns Hopkins' anthropologist Katherine Verdery to the campus for a memorable presentation. Our working groups have continued to flourish and the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, under the direction of George Breslauer, remains a vital presence, intellectual center, and source of support for dozens of graduate students in various disciplines.

The Center has prepared for publication an edited volume, *Identities in Transition: East Europe and Russia After Communism* (IAS Press), based on the 1995 Outreach Conference. The volume should be available by the time classes resume in the fall semester. Finally, I want to mention that many of our Center faculty have been participating in a major research project, "Europe East and West:

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Chair's Notes

continued from page 1

Challenges to Sovereignty from Above and Below," organized by the Slavic Center in cooperation with the Berkeley Center for German and European Studies. Over the next academic year, we plan to hold several meetings of this interdisciplinary research group and eventually to publish the papers.

It has been possible for the Center to sustain such a rich and varied program of activities because of the efforts of Barbara Voytek and Edward Walker, together with the Center staff. We have been fortunate to have had the continued excellent cooperation of our faculty and graduate students. The strength of our campus community is matched by the goodwill and intellectual curiosity of the off-campus community, who attend our events with great enthusiasm and provide financial support through the Associates of the Slavic Center Annual Giving program.

At a time when many centers, departments, and scholars who focus on East Europe and the Former Soviet Union are suffering serious decline, we are pleased to note that the Berkeley Slavic Center continues to flourish. We are grateful to the UCB administration, and especially Richard Buxbaum, dean of International and Area Studies, for helping us to maintain our preeminent position in the field of Slavic and East European studies.

In closing, I want to mention with much sadness the passing of Frank Whitfield, emeritus professor of Slavic languages and literatures, on February 28. Frank was an eminent scholar, a legendary teacher and mentor, and a generous colleague. It was my great privilege to know him for nearly twenty-five years. We are all impoverished by his death.

*Victoria E. Bonnell,
Chair,
CSEES*

Student Notes

Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Fellowship support has been awarded to the following Berkeley students: Summer Language Training Fellowships go to **Catherine Dale, David Hoffman, Mark Howard, and Kari Johnstone** (political science). **Maranatha Ivanova** (political science) received a Summer Research Grant. **Mike Carpenter** (political science), **Mark Howard** (political science), **Jan Plamper** (history), **Keith Darden** (political science), and **Lise Svenson** (political science) are the recipients of Graduate Training Fellowships. Dissertation Fellowships have been given to **Tadashi Anno** (political science), **Elzbieta Benson** (sociology), **Peter Blitstein** (history), and **Serge Glushkoff** (geography).

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, for summer language training are going to the following graduate students: from the department of political science, **Marc Howard** will be studying Russian, and **Kari Johnstone** will be immersed in Hungarian. **Jonathan Barnes** will be studying Bulgarian and **Andrew Dolbey**, Finnish—both from the department of linguistics. From the history department, **Christine Kulke** was awarded a FLAS for Polish and **Chad Bryant** for Czech language study. **Diana Cheren**, department of art history, and **Nathaniel Lew**, from the music department, each received FLAS awards for summer study of Russian. **Marie Alice L'Heureux** will be immersed in the study of Estonian, thanks to a FLAS summer language training grant, while **Michelle Viise** from Slavic languages and literatures will be studying Polish. The FLAS fellowships are funded by the Department of Education Title VI grant to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies.

Jeffrey Robins (political science) and **Marie Alice L'Heureux** (architecture) have been awarded grants for 1996-97

by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). **Ania Wertz** (history) received an academic year scholarship from the Kosciuszko Foundation. **Marc Howard** and **Lise Svenson** (both political science) and **Peter Blitstein** (history) have been awarded grants by Berkeley's Institute for International Studies for academic year 1996-97. **Keith Darden** (political science) has been awarded a Berkeley Fellowship from the Graduate Division, and **Maranatha Ivanova**, also in political science, has been given a Predissertation Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council.

Slavic Center Travel Grants. The demand for travel grants was particularly high this year, perhaps reflecting the dynamism of those in Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley, as well as the tightening of available sources. Because of the increased demand, some of the funds contributed by our Associates were earmarked for travel grants. Travel grants for paper presentations were awarded to **Shari Cohen**, Ph.D. candidate in political science; **Sarah Cover** and **Jacqueline Friedlander**, Ph.D. candidates in history; and **Robert Wessling**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures. **Andreas Johns** and **Jennifer Wilder**, both Ph.D. candidates in Slavic, gave presentations at the AATSEEL meetings in Chicago in December. A travel grant for the domestic portion of his trip to present a paper at the University of Milan was awarded to **Evgenii Bershtein**, department of Slavic languages and literatures. Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, **Jason Bass**, received a grant to present at the Society for American Archaeology meeting in New Orleans in April. Other awards included a grant to **Ilya Vinkovetsky**, Ph.D. candidate in history, **Elzbieta Benson**, sociology, and **Helen Lenda**, city planning. Congratulations to all.

Faculty and Alumni Notes

Kenneth T. Jowitt, professor of political science, was recognized with a 1995 Distinguished Teaching Award by the Division of Social Sciences in the College of Letters and Science. The award was given for his "sustained excellence in teaching large undergraduate lecture courses." "Large" is an understatement. Congratulations, Ken!

The dissertation of alumna, **Kathleen (Kelly) Smith** has been published: *Remembering Stalin's Victims: Popular Memory and the End of the USSR*. The volume presents her research into the Memorial Society, a non-governmental civic group which formed as a result of the desire to learn the truth about the past, particularly the Stalin era.

Reginald E. Zelnik, professor of history, has been selected as co-recipient of the fourth annual Nancy Lyman Roelker Mentorship Award given by the American Historical Association. This year's award is for graduate teaching, and Reggie's students and others have written eloquently of the intellectual and personal benefit he has bestowed on them. Somehow, this is not surprising. Congratulations, Reggie!

Slavic department assistant professors **Eric Naiman** and **Anne Nesbet** were awarded travel grants for presentation of papers at the AAASS meetings in Washington DC.

Leonid Khotin, research associate of the Slavic Center, recently published a timely article, "Old and New Entrepreneurs in Today's Russia," in *Problems of Post-Communism*, January-February 1996. It begins with the claim:

"When Russian shock therapy was introduced in 1992, many observers thought that veteran state enterprise directors would block the reform effort. Instead, the directors are at the forefront of a new entrepreneurial class. Little realized at the time, Soviet industrial managers had long ago become self-sufficient, risk-taking administrators."

Leonid is also the principal editor of *Zarubezhnaya periodicheskaya pechat' na russkom iazyke* (formerly *Abstracts of Soviet and East European Emigre Periodical Literature*). The editorial board of this publication includes Berkeley faculty members, George Breslauer, Gregory Grossman, Olga Matich, Nicholas Riasanovsky, and Robert Hughes, as well as faculty from Champagne-Urbana, New York, and Moscow.

For more information about this new publication, please write to L. Khotin, Informatics and Prognostics, 1400 Shattuck Avenue, Suite 7, No. 10, Berkeley CA 94709.

Memorials

We are sorry to report the passing on May 25th of **Dr. Mark Neuweld**, who for many years was a research associate affiliated with the Center. Born in Lwow, Poland, a refugee from the Nazis and a laborer in Soviet camps, Mark survived to emigrate to the USA, where he received a Ph.D. in Government from Harvard. A specialist in the field of Soviet polities, at various times he taught at the University of New Mexico, San Francisco State, and other universities. He is survived by his three children, Mark Adam, Lisa, and Christine. Mark will be remembered fondly by his many Berkeley friends.

Dr. Francis J. Whitfield, emeritus professor of Slavic languages and literatures, died on February 28, just before what would have been his eightieth birthday.

A Harvard Ph.D. and member of the Harvard Society of Fellows until 1945, he joined the Berkeley Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in 1948 and taught here until his retirement in 1986.

Whitfield's intellectual interests, and the range of his publications and teaching, were very broad indeed. His enduring love was Polish—language, literature, and culture, and he served as a corresponding member of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. His greatest contribution to Polish studies was his monumental *Kosciuszko Foundation Dictionary: Polish-English; English-Polish* (1959-61), for which he received a medal of honor. Whitfield's work was not limited to Polish however. He edited the very accessible introductory work, D. S. Mirsky's *History of Russian Literature*, and he is best known in Slavic linguistics for his textbook on Old Church Slavic. In the field of general linguistics, he edited and translated several works of the Danish theorist of glossematics, Louis Hjelmslev. In recognition of his painstaking efforts, Whitfield was invited to give a plenary address on the 500th anniversary of the University of Copenhagen in 1979. In addition to linguistics and Slavic studies, he had an enduring interest in English poetry, and his command of Greek, Latin, and biblical texts and mathematics was remarkable.

Beyond his scholarship, Whitfield will be remembered by colleagues and students for his contributions to the department and the university. He was in effect the architect of the Slavic department, serving as its chair for several intervals from the late fifties into the seventies, for a total of eleven years. He is also important to the early history of the Slavic Center, serving as director of the East European Language and Area Center, established in 1959 with a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Whitfield thought of himself above all as a teacher, however. He conducted classes on Old Church Slavic and Polish, the histories of Russian, Polish, and old Russian literature, and linguistics and theory of translation. Generations of students remember him fondly for his insistence on rigor—tempered with humor and grace. He is survived by his wife of forty-six years, Cecylia Whitfield.

Memorial gifts may be sent to: Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 5416 Dwinelle Hall #2979, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, 94720, in the name of the "Francis James Whitfield Fund," whose proceeds will be used to support students in study and research in Polish.



From Censorship to (Limited) Success: The Challenges of Publishing in Poland

By *Jerzy Illg*

The few genuine and undeniable accomplishments of the Communist regime in Poland included the dissemination of culture, the growth of readership, the creation of modern printing facilities, and the founding of new publishing houses, magazines, and a wide network of bookstores and libraries. Books were cheap and truly available to the masses in the first decades after the war. Yet all this was, of course, done in accordance with the main aims of cultural policy: shaping public awareness, winning support for the new authorities and eradicating the "vestiges of bourgeois ideology." In effect, the whole domain of the printed word, and especially literature, was "nationalized" and made subservient to ideology. The Communist authorities knew well that dominance of intellectual and spiritual life through the control of information and the media was a key to ruling over a subjugated populace.

As soon as the eastern provinces of Poland were liberated and the new government set up in Lublin in August 1944, Polish Communist writers and

politicians arrived from all over the country and from Soviet territory. In 1946, the People's National Council, the highest government authority at the time, passed a decree forbidding private publishers to reprint twelve of the most-loved classic Polish authors—including Orzeszkowa, Prus, Reymont, Sienkiewicz, Wyspianski, and Zeromski—who could henceforth be published only by state-owned houses. These state-owned houses, along with magazines, were set up and the main lines of state cultural policy, and above all the principle of central control, were laid down. Later they would be extended to the whole country and, over a period of years, perfected.

It is striking how often the adjectives "central," "main," and "supreme" appeared. The Main Agency for the Supervision of the Press, Publications, and Performances, the Central Publishing Commission, and the Central Agency for Publishing, Printing, and Bookselling had all been established by 1951. The Commission for Printed Paper Affairs was set up in 1947, at cabinet level, no less, as was the Book Distribution Committee a year later. As late as 1970, the authorities set up the Supreme Board of Publishers, which shows how persistent was their dream of bringing all phenomena of public life into a hierarchical system that could guarantee order and the fulfillment of centrally established plans.

Communist paternalism led politicians to take a detailed, personal interest in culture. Literary prizes and screenplays were discussed at the highest levels. There were countless examples of ministers or party bosses personally blocking books or theatrical performances, summoning authors to their offices for fatherly scoldings, or casting public anathemas at party congresses and Central Committee meetings. The personal denunciation by Party First Secretary Gomulka of the outstanding writers Paweł Jasienica and Stefan Kisielewski coincided with a slanderous press campaign against the former and the beating of the latter on the street by "unknown assailants." This was not just "central control," but rather "hands-on" management of culture.

Censorship

The most important institution for controlling literature was the censor. The censor could forbid the appearance of a text, and his permission was necessary to set up a newspaper, journal, or publishing house. For decades, the censor was a state within a state. Censorship was carried out by unwritten laws, and the decisions of the censor could not be appealed in any court. The system was highly arbitrary and subject to the whims of higher-ups; few editors or authors ever felt that they understood the criteria. Only with the promulgation of the 1981 law on censorship were these prerogatives at all

*Jerzy Illg is the editor-in-chief of Znak Publishing House, and editor of the literary-artistic magazine *NaGlos*. He is also a journalist and literary critic whose publications have appeared in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *RePublica*, *Tworczosc*, and *Odra*. He gave a talk on this subject on February 20, 1996.*

codified or limited.

The system of control worked in many ways and on many levels. There was a pyramid within the party itself, overseen at the top by the Central Committee, which identified particularly sensitive areas and general guidelines. But there was also self-censorship. Here such factors as propaganda, repression, and painful personal experiences taught the author or publisher that the best way to avoid trouble was to monitor one's own thinking and behave in a conformist way. Editorial boards, publishing houses, and theaters and film companies practiced "internal" control, since those who owed their jobs to party connections took pains to avoid provoking their patrons.

Censorship limited the horizons of Polish culture. Some authors and works could not be mentioned at all, while others could be mentioned only in footnotes, bibliographies, or small-circulation specialist publications, sometimes after applying for special permission to do so. The censor also determined which authors could never be mentioned in a positive light and which were to be elevated above all criticism. All polemics against certain officially patronized journals or institutions were ruled out. Some of the foremost Polish authors—Czesław Miłosz, Witold Gombrowicz, Leszek Kołakowski, Jan Kott, Leopold Tyrmand, Zbigniew Herbert, Marek Hłasko, Stanisław Baranczak, and many, many others—were banned for years, either because they published abroad or because they supported opposition or independent movements at home. Whole domains of literature were ruled out: recent history, including Polish-Soviet relations, deportations, and the Katyn massacre, and large fields of religious studies, political science, economics, sociology, and even some technical subjects. Censorship thus provided a falsified image of historical and contemporary reality.

As with censorship, state publishing policies were built on a fictional literary hierarchy dependent on the decisions of "cultural bureaucrats" rather than artistic values. Leon Kruczkowski, a writer and

postwar minister of culture, proudly claimed in a 1946 speech that state patronage would free the writer from dependence on commercial trends and the forces of the market. So it was—state publishing policy until the end of the eighties had nothing in common with the demands of the market, and was in fact a contradiction of the free interplay of supply and demand. Frequently, demand was simply ignored. Books sought after

The eighties in Poland saw a true "paper revolution" that bloodlessly transformed a totalitarian state under foreign hegemony into an almost normal democratic and independent country.

by readers were banned and print runs were limited arbitrarily by allocating paper for far fewer copies than could be sold. Reality was also ignored in decisions to issue and reissue classics of Marxism and the works of officially favored authors that no one wanted to read. Often the previous print run of an opus by Machejek, Putrament, or Dobrowolski had not even been pulped when the same book was reprinted as part of the complete works of the lucky author, who received royalties on copies printed, not copies sold.

Access to world literature, by contrast, was limited. During the first postwar decade, through 1955, 2,257 Soviet works were translated as against 680 from English, 504 from French, and 307 from German. Only after the 1956 turning point did English-language writers ascended to the dominant position they still hold today.

With censorship and a selective publishing policy in place, whole ranges of conflicts, tensions, moral dilemmas, and value choices were declared taboo, impoverishing and deforming the individual and collective consciousness. This ideologization of literature and publishing lasted through all the meanderings of history and cultural policy under Communism. At moments,

the pressure from above intensified or lightened in response to the degree of resistance from writers and the moments of political crisis. Brutal Stalinism ended with the "thaw" of October 1956, followed by the long "frost" that lasted until March 1968. Then the "Polish months" succeeded each other more rapidly: December 1970, June 1976, August 1980, and finally December 1981, when martial law was imposed on the country. Artists and writers gained a new degree of freedom during each crisis, and afterwards the authorities tried to reimpose control each time. However, they were never able to tighten the screw to the degree of repression that had preceded a given crisis; consequently, the margin of free speech widened gradually but systematically and irreversibly.

Resistance to State Policy

The literary community learned from the successive confrontations with the authorities to resist their domination of literary culture. One locus of resistance was the ZLP, or Polish Writers' Union. The Communist authorities reactivated the union in August 1944, hoping to turn it into an instrument of political indoctrination, where members provided with welfare benefits, scholarships, prizes, foreign trips, apartments, and working vacations in scenically located "houses of creative work" would act as "engineers of human souls," who would inculcate the values of the triumphant Communist ideology. Yet the union remained stubbornly pluralistic. A pro-party faction was constantly opposed by writers who thought that the union should be independent, democratic, and tolerant, speaking up not only on literary and cultural matters but also on important issues in national life. They protested in favor of free speech (in the famous "Letter of 34" from 1964), civil rights, (during the 1968 crisis) and national sovereignty (when the authorities wanted to write subservience to the Soviet Union into the Polish constitution). Such actions irritated the authorities, but also gave the union status as a representative of independent opinion. After the union

was liquidated by authorities following martial law, the majority of respected figures opposed to party control formed a new Association of Polish Writers.

The most significant bulwark against state censorship came in the form of an underground press. After the establishment in 1976 of KOR (Committee for the Defense of Workers), the underground press published a growing avalanche of flyers, newsletters, brochures, political and cultural journals, and books by both Polish and foreign authors outside the control of the censor and the secret police. This independent publishing filled the gaps created by official directives and gave the Polish reader access to world literature, whether from the West (Orwell, Nabokov, Grass, Durrenmatt), Russia (Mandelstam, Solzhenitsyn, Brodsky, Yerofeyev) or Poland's immediate neighbors (Hrabal, Kundera, Havel). The accomplishments of the five hard years from 1976 to 1980, when the foundations were laid for the success of Solidarity, would have been impossible without the underground press.

The efficient functioning of this whole underground empire, with vast numbers of people engaged in the acquisition of paper and equipment, printing, distribution, and, above all, reading under constant threat of police surveillance and harassment and cut off from the free world, defies rational explanation. In those first five years, nearly one hundred thousand copies of journals, books, and brochures were published each month. Bibliographies list up to five hundred underground periodicals from these same years. During the fifteen months of the first Solidarity period that followed, at least two hundred publishers brought out over a thousand books and brochures, while the total of independent periodicals probably exceeded two thousand. Their authentic voice provided a genuine image of many diverse aspects of Polish reality. The movement covered the whole country, reaching into small towns and villages, factories, and academic institutions everywhere.

The imposition of martial law failed to stem this flood of free speech, or the country's democratic aspirations. On the basis of the *Bibliography of Underground Publishers* brought out in Paris in 1986, we can estimate that over five thousand books were published unofficially through 1989. The eighties in



The Znak Publishing House's poetry logo
Poland therefore saw a true "paper revolution" that bloodlessly transformed a totalitarian state under foreign hegemony into an almost normal democratic and independent country.

The Transformation of 1989

The changes in the Polish publishing industry after 1989 are a true revolution, part of the rebuilding and, in some cases, the liquidation of official structures. Culture and literature are areas of collective life that have benefited most from these changes, but they also face completely new challenges. All forms of preventive and repressive censorship were abolished together with the Main Agency for the Supervision of the Press, Publications, and Performances. Authors and publishers can now be held responsible only for damages in civil cases such as slander and libel. All restrictions on the import of books from abroad have been abolished, and publishers can make their own plans about which titles and how many copies to publish without approval from the Ministry of Culture. The only remaining limitation on the supply of paper is its price.

Entrepreneurs and innovators who had been excluded from the publishing industry when it was under the especially

vigilant eyes of the Communist authorities are now free to open their own publishing houses, journals, warehouses and bookstores. These possibilities have attracted professionals, as well as amateurs looking for a quick profit. Approximately two thousand new publishers opened in the first year of freedom. Today, the ISBN Office at the National Library reports that there are sixty-nine hundred publishers registered in Poland, state-owned houses making up little more than a dozen of these, but accounting for about 30 percent of the market. It is estimated that not more than five hundred houses are really active, and many of the new houses are ephemeral, folding after publishing one or two titles. Becoming a publisher requires nothing beyond registering a company in court or with the local authorities, and many "houses" consist of a husband and wife with a computer and the required programs, who contract out all the real publishing work.

The state monopoly on the distribution and sale of books was the next to fall. The gigantic but bankrupt Book Warehouse firm has been replaced by private firms that are becoming more dynamic and, in some instances, opening branches around the country. Similarly, the state House of Books firm, which until 1989 held almost a complete monopoly on bookstores (except for a few religious outlets), has been partly privatized and partly liquidated, while new private bookstores have sprung up and are competing effectively with the few remaining state-owned outlets.

The profitability of Polish publishing is less impressive than the sight of the colorful books filling the bookstores. The price of paper is the first problem, as domestic producers jack their prices up several times each year. It is often cheaper to import paper than to buy it in Poland. The high costs of warehousing and lack of storage space in bookstores and wholesale outlets mean that titles disappear from the shelves after a month or two and never reappear. Retailers know that new titles sell best, and with a constant flow of new titles there is little

reason to reorder except in the case of a few bestsellers. Buyers therefore often hunt in vain for a copy of a book that the publisher is unable to sell. Wholesalers return the books to publishers who have nowhere to store them and must therefore pulp them or sell them at low prices to new firms that have sprung up to deal in remaindered books.

Another painful paradox is that while books seem too expensive to Polish readers, their prices are too low for publishers. The costs of paper and printing have reached world levels, yet a Polish publisher charges only four or five dollars for a book that would cost twenty or twenty-five dollars abroad. Publishers scheduled twenty-five thousand titles last year—seventy a day!—but managed to sell only half the copies printed: the market is simply too poor to absorb such production. Books are now too expensive to be available to a wide range of readers: book prices grew by 35 percent in 1995, against an overall inflation rate of 23 percent. For many families, especially those with lower incomes, books are now a luxury. English research shows that the average Pole spends 5 dollars per year on books (at an average price of 4 dollars, this means he buys one book) while a Frenchman spends 62 and a German 102 dollars per year on books. The high cost of books inevitably lowers the general level of readership and education in Poland. The transition to the free market has thus been costly, and socially negative phenomena have accompanied the end of ideological and administrative controls, the widening of the range of titles available, and the raising of editorial and technical standards.

Another big problem is the failure to eliminate unreliable companies from the book trade. Paper producers, printers, publishers, wholesalers and retailers are all vulnerable to the insolvency of their clients. Publishers have it worst because they must usually pay up front for paper, printing, and advances to authors and translators, and then wait months until they are paid by wholesalers (to whom in effect they provide credit), who in turn

are waiting for money from bookstores. It is therefore relatively easy to publish a book these days, harder to distribute and sell it, and hardest of all to collect the money.

It would seem from the foregoing that the Polish state now fulfills the same role that it would in other democratic countries: subsidizing worthwhile initiatives that would not be viable without such support. The state does in fact use the Ministry of Culture and Art, the Ministry of National Education, the Committee for Scientific Research, the National Library, and a range of other foundations to subsidize scholarly and specialist books and journals. Local governments in smaller localities, previously hard to locate on the country's cultural map, have allocated resources to publishing in their region. Cultural, artistic, and literary journals have been set up in places like Lublin, Bydgoszcz, and even the small town of Sejny, which now boasts a journal on Central European regional issues. Such decentralization is a valuable contribution to the country's cultural infrastructure.

But there are certain vestiges of old ways. The current Minister of Culture and Art, Kazimierz Dejmek, has acted with an

arbitrariness and arrogance that recall the old Communist style and perhaps demonstrate the difficulty of rooting out old habits. He outraged many by setting up a weekly cultural newspaper under the editorship of former Communists at a cost of 2.2 million zloty—the same amount the ministry budgeted for support of book publishing. Only 8 to 10 percent of the newspaper's huge press run is sold—mostly to libraries. Nevertheless, the minister has reportedly allocated a further million zloty to support a publication that has been spurned by the public but offers employment to his cronies. In a similar vein, 2.1 million zloty from the government budget surplus was allocated at the end of 1994 for the purchase of books by public libraries. This would seem praiseworthy, except that, instead of being able to buy whatever books they needed and wanted, the libraries were restricted to the offerings of eight state-owned publishing houses. In effect, this was a subsidy for unreformed publishers threatened by bankruptcy and a penalty against those houses that have tried to adapt to the demands of the free market.

It is to be expected that the changes outlined above will continue, and that the free market will turn out to be an effective self-regulating mechanism in Poland as it has elsewhere. It is to be hoped that the formation of a Polish middle class and the accumulation of capital will lead to new means of supporting culture. A great deal remains to be done in such areas as tax law, which at present does not encourage such support.

After years of the absurdities and aberrations imposed by a totalitarian system, the road to normalcy for the Polish book trade is still long. As everywhere else in Poland, the old institutions have died out and new ones are being developed by trial and error. The only way forward is to benefit from the experiences of other countries in publishing as in all other fields during this period of transformation.

International House to Host Human Rights Conference with Focus on East Central Europe

From Thursday, May 30, through Saturday, June 1, the International House on the Berkeley campus will host a conference entitled "Human Rights and Minority Rights in East Central Europe." The Slavic Center is one of the co-sponsors. The purpose of the conference is to define and analyze the problems of threatened and at-risk minorities in East Central Europe and to explore ways of promoting human rights for members of these groups.

Registration is necessary. For more information, please call Suzanne Cowan at (510) 642-3386.



A Jewish middle school class in Birobidzhan City, 1937. Reprinted from Lvavi, The Jewish Colonization in Birobigan, (Jerusalem, 1965).

Making the Taiga Bloom: The Birobidzhan Idea

By David Shneer

In 1928, Joseph Stalin and the Communist Party carved out a piece of far eastern Russia and designated it to be the future autonomous Jewish region of the Soviet Union. This territory, which received its official title “Birobidzhan, The Jewish Autonomous Region” in 1934, was to provide a space where Jews would be able to “normalize” their status as a nation by being assigned to a specific place and by cultivating a new culture, “Jewish in form, socialist in context” and based on the Yiddish language. In the Soviet conception of a nation and culture, a group needed a common language and territory to properly call themselves a nation, and their culture needed to express the formal differences between nations while simultaneously incubating universal socialist beliefs and practices. The Georgians, Armenians, and other nations had language and territory, but the “placeless” (eternally wandering) Jews posed an enigma.

David Shneer, a Ph.D. student in the department of history, UC Berkeley, reports on Robert Weinberg’s presentation “The Jewish Revival in Post-War Birobidzhan.” Weinberg’s talk was sponsored by the Slavic Center and the department of history. Professor Weinberg is currently working on a project for the Judah Magnes Museum in Berkeley, which is creating an exhibit documenting the history of Birobidzhan and bringing its story up to the present.

Robert Weinberg, professor of history at Swarthmore College, has spent the past few years researching Birobidzhan in the context of these Soviet conceptions of nationality and identity. In January, he came to Berkeley to give a talk outlining its history and presenting his views on why the Birobidzhan project, in his words, “did not succeed.”

Although Weinberg did not address the question explicitly in his talk, to understand the motivation for establishing Birobidzhan, it is necessary to understand the brief history of the Jews in the Soviet Union prior to Birobidzhan to see if, as a group, they had either of the two ingredients of nationhood—language and land. Jews in the western parts of the Soviet Union had been speaking a common language, Yiddish, for hundreds of years. Although in late-tsarist Russia and during the Soviet period Russian became more popular among the younger generation, which recognized its utility in facilitating social mobility in Soviet society, Yiddish maintained its primacy as the unifying language of Jewish communities. Throughout the 1920s, in fact, a public Yiddish culture flourished as a result of both the emancipatory effects of the revolution and the direct support of the Yiddish language from the Soviet state. This support came in radical forms, such as the establishment throughout the Crimea, Ukraine, and Central Asia of Yiddish

schools and Jewish agricultural colonies, where Jewish laborers would plow the fields and talk about Lenin in Yiddish. It is within this environment of social experimentation that the idea of establishing an autonomous Jewish region sprouted. It comes as no surprise, then, that the state designated Yiddish the “official” language of the Jews and the “official” language of Birobidzhan. But this hegemony of Yiddish also shows the dominance of the Northern European, Ashkenazic Jewish tradition in the creation of Birobidzhan culture over that of Jews living, for example, in Soviet Central Asia who did not speak Yiddish. This flattening of linguistic difference through a rationalization and bureaucratization of culture, in fact, poses a different critique of the Birobidzhan project than that of Weinberg.

For the Soviet authorities, then, it was clear that the Jews had a language, and as for territory, they were at least concentrated within specific physical and spatial boundaries. The Pale of Settlement, whose borders were fixed in 1835, had been the locus of Yiddish culture until the revolution dissolved this legal delineation of “Jewish territory.” Even after the Pale disappeared, however, it stood as an idealized cultural homeland for an Eastern European diaspora Jewish culture throughout the world and in larger Soviet cities, to which Jews migrated in huge numbers. With a language and territory, then, Jews could be considered a nation by Soviet standards. However the Jews, like the Pale, occupied others’ space. Belorussians, Ukrainians, Moldavians, and Poles laid claim to the land in which the Yiddish diaspora found its roots. The Soviet solution to this contestation of land was to separate the Jews from these other nations and to create (or build) a new socialist Yiddish culture in a faraway place, an unsettled, wild land—a *tabula rasa*—waiting to be “made productive” by Jewish socialists from around the Union and around the world. And, as Weinberg stressed throughout his talk, the centrality of building, constructing, and being productive would dominate the discourse of Birobidzhan from its inception.

Weinberg demonstrated, however, that, despite the propaganda, from the beginning, the project was never popular among the potential migrants. Migration statistics of Jews to Birobidzhan were low from its foundation in 1928, and the Jewish population there was never a majority. In 1939, Jews numbered only eighteen thousand out of a total population of one hundred thousand. Weinberg asserted that the Purges of the thirties, which wiped out the Jewish cultural elite in Birobidzhan, were partly responsible for fostering a cynical attitude among Jews toward the Birobidzhan project. In a passing comment, he mentioned that during the war, little attention was paid to promoting the new Jewish homeland since more pressing problems, such as the occupation of large parts of the country, were more important to Stalin. Unfortunately, very little research has examined the immediate effects of the war on Birobidzhan, both as an actuality and as an idea.

After the devastation of the war, Stalin initiated a revival in Birobidzhan, in what some have termed the Birobidzhan

Renaissance. Weinberg showed that the Soviet government encouraged Jews who had survived the Holocaust to settle in Birobidzhan through elaborate advertising campaigns and financial subsidies for undertaking the move. He studied the official Jewish newspaper, *Shtern* or *Zvezda*, published in Birobidzhan, during the renaissance. His research showed that letters in the paper from Jewish migrants to Birobidzhan reflect an economic, rather than an ideological or cultural, motivation for migrating east, although Weinberg emphasized that the mentality expressed in these letters reflects both state censorship and the self-censorship of the writers.

Suddenly in 1948, Stalin began his anti-cosmopolitan campaign, and with it, the Birobidzhan Renaissance came to an end. Yiddish actors and writers were sent to the Gulag, and the financial incentives and public fanfare that went along with migration ended. Weinberg described a chilling scene in which thirty thousand books were burned at the Jewish museum in 1948. The “cosmopolitan” enemies of the people were termed “Zionist agents” or “bourgeois nationalists” for having participated in the “nation-building” that Stalin had encouraged since at least 1945. Weinberg described the disillusionment of Jewish migrants and of Jews throughout the Soviet Union at Stalin’s return to state-sponsored anti-Semitism.

Thus ends what Weinberg considered the failed project of Birobidzhan—failed because it never became a center of Jewish culture, as demonstrated by statistics of migrants, synagogues, newspapers, and other traces of the culture of the Jewish community in Birobidzhan. The project’s lack of success can be explained, according to Weinberg, by two factors. Despite the authorities’ seemingly rational motivation behind granting Jews national status and autonomy, the Birobidzhan idea and the nationality policy in general did not permit a “genuine Jewish culture” to thrive because of the “ideological straightjacket” of Stalinism. Soviet ideology and Stalin, not the Jewish migrants, dictated the practices of identity-building in which a nascent culture tried to develop. Moreover, Birobidzhan lacked an initial motivating idea beyond this Soviet nationalist ideology. For Weinberg, constituting a nation solely on land and language, as in the case of Birobidzhan, is not sufficient to confer a national identity. Calling on other theories of national identity and ethnicity, Weinberg argued that “when you empty ‘Jewishness’ of its historical baggage, it becomes dull.” In other words, common language and territory were not (and are not) sufficient conditions for maintaining culture. Birobidzhan had form without content.

Weinberg’s negative conclusions are in part a reflection of the limitations of his methodology. His initial methodological limitation is that he did not use Yiddish-language sources, which would open up new genres of material for research. He opened his talk with the disclaimer that to get a better understanding of the “experience” of Birobidzhan, a researcher must know Yiddish. Certainly by examining letters, diaries, and other anthropological sources such as music and poetry, Weinberg

may have created a more nuanced picture of the motivations for migration. As his research stands, the question of “experience” remains elusive.

But this linguistic limitation only highlights the more fundamental problem in Weinberg’s research. He relies on a methodology that seems best at depiction rather than analysis: he employs sociological statistics and a descriptive narrative to answer questions that beg for a more complicated explanation. For example, he stated that while early settlers may have been motivated by economic opportunism, Birobidzhan’s postwar Yiddish culture blossomed with theater, art, and literature, and a significant expansion of Yiddish-language collective farms. The Birobidzhan project, then, seemed to have been a “success” in that Jews were in fact migrating and building a Soviet Jewish culture. Weinberg argued, however, that although Stalin temporarily permitted this cultural rebirth (lifted the straitjacket), the substance of that culture could not be considered that of a Jewish nation.

I would argue that the tools Weinberg uses cannot attempt to address these questions of culture and identity during the renaissance. He wants to answer the question, “what did it mean for someone to migrate to Birobidzhan and go to a synagogue?” while his theory and method can only address the question, “what

did they do when they went to Birobidzhan?” Weinberg beautifully constructs the “how” of Birobidzhan, but succeeds less at the “why” and the “what does this mean” of Birobidzhan. Clearly, Weinberg recognizes the need to interpret, but his methodology and theory keeps his history of Birobidzhan on the level of description, and consequently he cannot adequately analyze the culture that he dismisses as not authentically Jewish.

Weinberg’s rejection of Birobidzhan as a legitimately Jewish nation is particularly ironic in that the criticism that he levels at the Birobidzhan farce is one similarly used to critique the Zionist project. Modern political Zionism, which led to the movement of Jews to Palestine, reviled the “ghettoized” and powerless status of Jews in history—a status which came from living within another’s space. For early Zionists, Jews could only “normalize” their status in the world by separating themselves from other societies and constructing a nationalist, Jewish culture in an “uninhabited,” “barren” land. Although the historical tie to modern Israel became part of Zionist ideology, many original Zionists did not mention the historical heritage of the land: it was more important that by “making the desert bloom” through “productive” work, Jews would become a nation like other nations.

When asked about this possible connection, Weinberg responded that he did not find the comparison compelling, but I believe his critique of the Birobidzhan idea could be made even more powerful by utilizing such a comparison of these two modern conceptions of a Jewish nation. The early Zionists rejected a Jewish religious identity, and believed that language (Hebrew, of course, not the “ghetto jargon” called Yiddish) and territory (anywhere that the Jews would be a majority in power) constituted a nation. And perhaps what permitted Zionism to succeed where Birobidzhan failed was its ability to co-opt (or invent) the necessary ideas to construct a “genuine” national identity. Zionism gained a history, a flag, and a religion that were all “three thousand years old.” As its popularity increased, Zionism was forcibly redefined and reworked by the migrants’ experience of moving to Israel and “building a Jewish nation.” In other words, the identity and practices of the actual migrants had to be incorporated into Zionism’s vehemently anti-traditional doctrines. In this way, Zionism came to have as many meanings as there were Zionists. Stalinism’s “ideological straitjacket” dictated meaning in Birobidzhan, according to Weinberg, and thus prevented individual practice from shaping the Birobidzhan idea. Such flexibility in content may have been Zionism’s key to success and may have meant Birobidzhan’s failure.

I applaud Weinberg for his research into this almost entirely uncharted territory of history and for his attempt to address these difficult questions of the relationship between identity, politics, and land. I hope that his work will continue to probe Soviet Jewish history and that his example will encourage others to examine this understudied subject in Soviet and Jewish history.

דער בוייניג פון קאָמונייזם
הַרְבִּיאַנְצָיְרָה פָּנוּ אֶלְעָלָן פְּנִינְדָּה, סָהָרְנוּקָה וּבָן

בִּירָאַבִּידְזְּשָׁאָנָּןָר
בְּנֵי בְּנֵי רָן

דִּישׁ עַפְּרִישׁ עַמְּנָטְשָׁן
פָּנוּ דִּישׁ עַפְּרִישׁ עַמְּנָטְשָׁן

БИРОБИДЖАНСКАЯ ЗВЕЗДА

МАРКСИЗМ-ЛЕНИНИЗМ - НАШЕ БОЕВОЕ

Shtern or Zvezda, the official Jewish newspaper of Birobidzhan—in Yiddish and Russian. Reproduced from Lvavi, The Jewish Colonization in Birobidian, (Jerusalem, 1965).

Some Remarks on “Provincial Culture” in Contemporary Russian Studies

By Svetlana S. Mintz

Since the end of the 1980s, Russian historical studies have become increasingly concerned with local lore, economy, and history. This interest has grown so rapidly that *kraevedenie*, as it is called in Russian, is now an appreciable part of Russian cultural studies. Some decades before, it was a sphere of nonprofessional historical activity, the realm of amateurs and local history enthusiasts. In the Soviet historical tradition, it was customary to differentiate between professional historians and *kraeveds*, nonprofessionals pursuing research on their local history, in order to stress the difference between “serious” historical science and auxiliary studies of a local culture. If any respectable Soviet scholar paid attention to local themes, it meant he/she had a hobby or an unusual interest. Now the situation has completely changed: *kraevedenie* has earned a place at all levels of the educational system, in scholarly activity, in cultural research, and even in the activities of local and central administrations. In different areas of the country, historical societies devoted to promoting the study of local history and culture have been founded or revived. Numerous journals and magazines focusing on local lore, history, and economy have been published. Even in Moscow, local history newsletters and almanacs have appeared. Commentary on this subject has become a mainstay of the mass media and numerous local and central publishing houses.

These changes in research and public activities are not chance phenomena. They reflect changes in professional historical and cultural study, as well as in the lay public’s perception of history. It is in fact the wider public’s renewed interest in history that has most affected the new direction of Russian cultural studies. Different localities and regions are searching for ways to become aware of their administrative, economic, and cultural independence, and the study of their local history and culture has played a part in their emerging self-understanding. Thus

Svetlana S. Mintz, associate professor of history at Kuban State University, Krasnodar, joined the Slavic Center as a 1995-1996 IREX Social Science Curriculum Fellowship recipient to learn more about new methods of historical investigation and theoretical approaches to the study of culture.



A merchant of Kaluga

recent studies of local history have in part been motivated by a search for self-definition against or separate from a greater Russian or Soviet culture.

This self-defining component of the study of local culture is not new. While interest in local or regional culture has been revived in recent years, the genre has a long history, beginning with descriptions of “provincial culture.” The legal term “province” first appeared in the times of Peter I as a legal term, but it later took on a cultural meaning as well. From the end of the eighteenth century onward, the everyday life and customs of the inhabitants of the provinces came to be seen in opposition to those of the capital. The first signs of such an opposition can be found in memoirs, in which writers often compared urban and rural life. The authors of memoirs did not, of course, have in mind the creation of a historical conception of Russian provincial culture. Most of them simply used the patterns of sentimental literature in fashion at that time. But some memoirists had ideological goals in mind in their descriptions

of provincial life: works such as S. Vinskii's *Outlook on My Life* (*Vzgliad na moyu zhizn'*) and P. Vighel's *Notes* (*Zapiski*) created a conceptual opposition between honest country life and the depraved life of the capital. Provincial life was depicted as a phenomenon with its own roots and history, and the literary stereotype of provincial life began to acquire the features of a historical concept worthy of study. Vighel, in fact, wrote historical descriptions that, while he did not consider them to be to be history in themselves, he hoped would serve as a kind of raw material for future historians—for the "Karamzins of the future epochs."

Just as they tried to provide the provinces with their own history, provincial memoirs also strove to demonstrate that life outside the capital was active and had social significance. For example, P. Baturin, a rather high-ranking official and a well-known editor at the end of the 1790s, spent the better part of his life in Tula and Kaluga, but, as his memoirs indicate, he did not consider himself a "provincial." He viewed his social life as a part of the Enlightenment activity of the educated elite of the capital. We come across a similar awareness in the memoirs of M. Leontiev. Devoting himself to agronomy, Leontiev made the rational management of his land into his own personal ideology, and it gave him enough self-respect to feel himself equal to the other members of the Moscow gentry. Leontiev's memoirs, like those of other authors, show us that from the very beginning, the concept of provincial culture was interwoven with perceptions of the socially respectable activity of an individual and with the development of individual self-consciousness.

Throughout the nineteenth century, memoirs and other kinds of belles-lettres, and writings on current affairs used and expanded the concept of provincial culture. Provincial culture became a part of professional scholarly research only in the 1870s and 1880s, with D. Ilovaiskii's *History of the Riazan Principality* (*Istoriia Riazanskogo Kniazhestva*) generally considered to be the first study of this kind. When provincial and local history was revived in the 1980s, the concept of provincial culture that had developed in the nineteenth century helped to inform the way local history was written.

Like their nineteenth-century counterparts, contemporary historians have used provincial culture as a way of defining themselves against the dominant culture of the capital, as a means of asserting their own uniqueness and worth. The recent surge in cultural history, especially local culture, arose in opposition to the generalized and standardized history of the Soviet state as a whole. In fact, the term "kraeved" while marking a historian as an amateur, also connotates the unofficial position of the author, and sometimes it was used to stress his or her opposition to the formal scientific structure of Soviet studies. Opposition political groups of various sizes—from ethnic groups to mass democratic movements—have used local cultural history to their political advantage. First of all, a local or regional perspective on the events of Russian history can provide a de-ideologized account to counter the official history.

More importantly, regional and local cultural history provides a foundation for political consciousness. For example, regional studies of local lore, economy, and culture can help to promote regional political identity by allowing each region to represent itself as an independent economic and cultural unity. Ironically, precisely by depoliticizing and de-ideologizing history, cultural studies became a form of political activity.

The recent spate of local cultural studies in Russia must be understood, then, as more of a response to specific political needs than as a scientific endeavor to understand the culture of the various regions and localities of Russia. The concept of "provincial culture" possesses more of a political than a scientific meaning because it is based on the opposition between local culture and the culture of any center which controls the social system. As an idea, the concept "provincial culture" exists only in comparison to the concept "central culture," and without this comparison it does not work. Often, provincial culture is romanticized and idealized in comparison with the culture of the center. This idealized image can be used in political discourse, presenting an image of a desirable social ideal and an image of a demonized enemy.

If local history is to become a genuinely scholarly, rather than merely political, activity, historians will need to move beyond this idealized notion of the provinces and try to create a more nuanced picture of the various cultures that marked the regions of Russia and later the Soviet Union. The very fact that the general public has now become so interested in rediscovering local and regional history demonstrates the importance of local culture as a source of identity for individuals and social groups. As the Russian public has lost its respect for official Soviet history, different groups and regions have been searching for their "own" history to provide them with feelings of self-respect, self-confidence, and assurance of social solidarity. Instead of writing romanticized accounts of local cultural history to fulfill these needs, historians should begin exploring precisely why local and regional culture has had such importance historically as a source of self-definition. Rather than continuing the myth of "provincial culture" historians should begin to historicize it and to understand the purposes it served. Until then, the history of provincial culture will remain well below its research potential.

This research is sponsored by the International Research and Exchange Board. I would like to thank Dr. Charles C. Collins, dean emeritus at Los Medanos College, Pittsburg, CA, and Arthur McKee for their comments on a longer version of this article, which helped me to formulate my thoughts more exactly. I would also like to thank Lee and Ella Ellis for aiding me with my English.

- S. Mintz

Conference Reports

Ethnographies of Transition Conference

UC Berkeley

March 22-24, 1996

The first Ethnographies of Transition conference took place March 22, 23 and 24 on the Berkeley campus, funded by the SSRC and ACLS. The organizers (Katherine Verdery and Michael Burawoy) were able to bring together an electric mixture of anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists who study the political, social, and cultural dimensions of the Soviet and East European transition to a market economy. We came together as paper givers and commentators, about twenty-four in all, to share our work and move toward some common understandings of economic transformation, observed from the microworlds of factories, villages, networks, and families. The ten paper givers were bribed into submitting their papers two months before the conference so that everyone had ample time to read and think about them.

After three opening addresses to the public on Friday from Michael Burawoy, Ellen Comisso, and Emma Kiselyova and Manuel Castells, we got down to ethnographic business on Saturday and Sunday. In studying the economic transition from some sort of socialism to some sort of capitalism, we wanted to demystify the general discourses about shock therapy, evolution, democratization, and liberalization and begin to develop theories of the trajectory of change based on views from the ground. Thus there were studies of property relations in a Transylvanian village (Katherine Verdery); technology transfer to the Czech Republic under the splendid title of "portable worlds" (Andrew Lass); of resistance to decollectivization among Bulgarian villagers (Gerald Creed); the disenchantment of Polish peasantry who retreat from the market into closed cycle production (Suava Salameh); the transformation of the Hungarian welfare state and its (re)constitution of gender identities (Lynne Haney); the diverse forms of merchant capital near the Russian border with China (Caroline Humphrey); the restoration of barter relations in the Russian economy (David Woodruff); and women's solidarities in the mines of the Kuzbass (Sarah Ashwin).

There was much lively discussion about David Stark's conceptualization of networks and of the strategic space between market and state, where flexible adaptations and new property forms are emerging. Ellen Comisso engaged Simon Clarke's ethnographically informed, Marxian analysis of the Soviet transition. Andrew Walder brought his rich understanding of contemporary China to draw out parallels and differences between the Chinese and "Soviet" transition. In commenting on Humphrey's broad canvas of patterns of trade in the tsarist,

Soviet and post-Soviet periods, Victoria Bonnell drew our attention to the importance of locating ethnography in its historical dimension. The commentaries of Gail Kligman, Liu Xin, Martha Lampland, and Carole Nagengast showed how the study of the transition required a blend of anthropology and history. To top off the conference, Ken Jowitt tried to bring Weberian clarity to fuzzy property relations.

We explored why ethnography was a particularly useful approach to understanding the transition as a combination of continuity and discontinuity, legacy and rupture. We also devoted time to the spatial as well as temporal dimensions of the transition. Thus, our case studies showed how economic policies enacted at the center had multiple unexamined and unintended consequences for villages, towns, and industry. To understand these consequences it was necessary to study social processes, and for that ethnography, once more, is uniquely well suited. More generally the transition involved a rupture between three different levels: programs or visions of a radiant future, policies enacted by new governments, and the everyday practices on the ground. We began to think about the specificity of the relations among these levels, especially when disintegration descends from above rather than erupting from below.

The conference went incredibly smoothly owing to the organizational genius of Monique Nowicki and Barbara Voytek, who anticipated every need and desire. If only they were planning the transition to capitalism.

*By Michael Burawoy,
Chair and Professor,
Department of Sociology,
University of California,
Berkeley*

Conference Reports

The Annual Teachers Outreach Conference

Crisis in the Balkans: Historical Background and Current Developments in the Former Yugoslavia

April 19-21, 1996

A weekend conference for teachers and the public was held in April with the express purpose of analyzing the roots of conflict in the former Yugoslavia and the prospects for peace in the wake of the recently concluded Dayton Accords. These accords and the resulting deployment of US troops to Bosnia-Hercegovina have brought the conflict in this unfortunate part of the world closer to the US than before. Teachers especially find themselves in the position of having to explain the causes, ongoing events, and potential outcomes. Our Outreach Conference was one attempt to assist in this need.

The conference was designed to be of special interest to primary, secondary, and post-secondary schoolteachers who wished to introduce their students to this difficult and emotional topic, which has been at the center of international attention for the past five years. In addition to materials provided for teaching, such as maps and handouts, the teachers were given a briefing on using the World Wide Web as a resource for finding material on the Balkans and other international topics. The demonstration was done by Susan Larson, coordinator of the ORIAS (Office of Resources for International and Area Studies), which is the main outreach office at Berkeley.

Center News

Once again, the Center is experiencing staff changes. This time, Dorota Bratko, our receptionist and administrative assistant, is leaving us for new surroundings — University of California, Santa Barbara, where her husband has been hired in the department of mathematics. Good luck, Dorota. We will miss you.

We were very fortunate to receive a positive reply from Tatiana Vinkovetsky who will replace Dorota in this position. Many of you know Tatiana already. Come by to wish her success in the new job. Those of you who have not met her, come by and introduce yourselves.

On Friday, April 19, after an introduction by Victoria Bonnell, chair of the Center, Kenneth Jowitt spoke dramatically on "The Balkans: Europe's Ghetto." His keynote address produced an energized mood for the conference, which continued throughout the next two days. On Saturday, Ronelle Alexander (professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Cal) provided an important introduction to the area with her talk, "You Are What You Speak: Language, Ethnicity, and Identities in the Balkans." She was followed by Gale Stokes (professor of history, Rice University) who provided historical background. Andrew Janos (professor of political science at UCB) followed the lunch break with a discussion of "The Dissolution of a Multinational State: Yugoslavia in Comparative Perspective." Veljko Vujacic (assistant professor of sociology at Oberlin College) closed the day with a paper on the principal political figures playing a role in the collapse of Yugoslavia.

Sunday, April 21, began with a significant presentation by Susan Woodward (senior fellow at the Brookings Institution) in which several myths were expelled and difficult issues addressed, including the Dayton Accords' potential success. Robert Hayden (associate professor of anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh) closed with his talk on the legal aspects of the constitution designed for Bosnia and, again, on prospects for peace. Unfortunately, although scheduled, Eric Stover (director of the Human Rights Program of the Townsend Center for the Humanities at UCB) was unable to speak because of illness.

All present came away from the conference with new knowledge and better understanding of a complex set of issues, personalities, and policies which fuel the crisis in the Balkans.

*By Barbara Voytek,
Executive Director,
CSEES*

Figure 1: The Library's Web Page

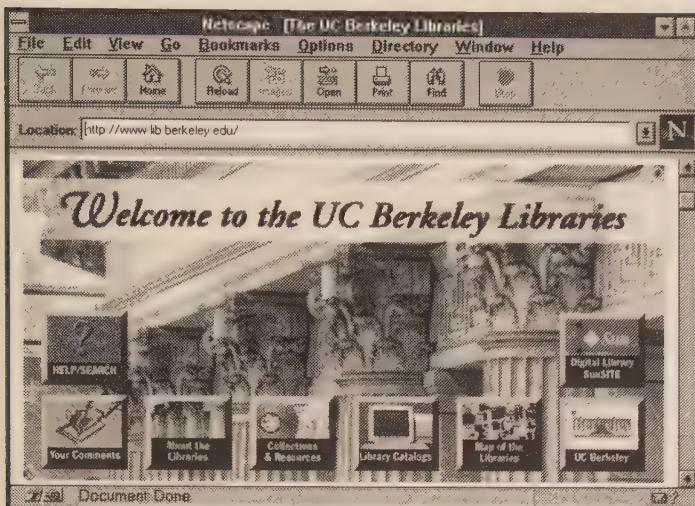
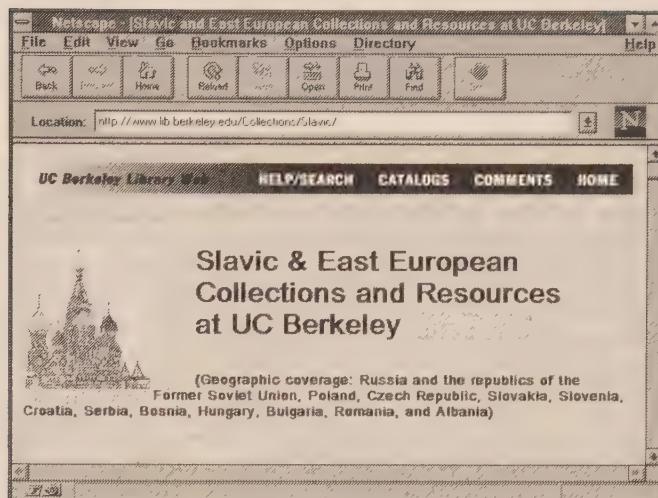


Figure 2: The Slavic and East European Collections Home Page



Library News: Electronic Resources for Slavic and East European Studies

By Dr. Allan Urbanic,
Head of Slavic Collections, UC Berkeley

Things are moving quickly in the areas of information access and retrieval and it is increasingly more difficult to keep up with the heady pace. To provide the most up-to-date information to our patrons, the library is employing some of the latest technologies. These include taking advantage of the resources of the World Wide Web and the increased capability of networking computers and providing information simultaneously to a variety of venues. You may have noticed in recent visits to the library that there have appeared workstations where previously there stood dumb terminals connected only to our on-line catalogs and a few campus gopher servers. These workstations now give us the capacity to deliver the services described below, and also, we hope, allow us to grow with the changes that the future holds.

The UC Berkeley Library's World Wide Web Home Page

The newspapers are filled with articles about the latest wonders that are to be found on the Internet at sites commonly referred to as the World Wide Web, or WWW for short. Companies like Netscape Communications have raised substantial sums of money through initial stock offerings. Traditional on-line services like Prodigy, Compuserv, and America On-line are competing vigorously for customers, enticing them with promises of access to these new Internet

manifestations. The popularity of this medium partly rests on its ability to deliver not only textual data but also graphic images, sound, and even motion pictures. But the question remains: is there some substance within the WWW or is this craze "much ado about nothing"?

There are things of substance on the WWW but there is also much that can be ignored. Many hours can be wasted "surfing the Web," but if you find a well-organized web site with pointers to useful documents and information time spent on-line can be productive.

This is the guiding principle behind the development of the UC Berkeley library web site (Figure 1), which has been given high marks in the WWW community for its content and organization. You can access the site from workstations in many locations throughout the library. Beginning from the library "home page," you can find out many things about the UC Berkeley library and its collections and services. You can also be guided to other useful areas of the WWW through pages constructed by library specialists in many disciplines.

I would like to focus here on some of the materials that have been gathered to promote and support Slavic and East European Studies on the Berkeley campus. The Slavic and East European Collections Home Page (Figure 2) is designed to fulfill two

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Fellowships and Other Opportunities

BURK

(University of Pittsburgh Center for Russian & Eastern European Studies/Business in Belarus, Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan Program). Offers travel and research opportunities to business and economics faculty from US academic institutions in the above-mentioned countries as well as Albania, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia. For non-specialists in East European studies. James V. Palmer, BURK Project Coordinator, CREES, 4G17 Forbes Quadrangle, Pittsburgh, PA, 15260. Ph.(412)648-7418 Fax (412)648-2199 E-mail:crees@vms.cis.pitt.edu.

CIES Fulbright Opportunities

For university lecturing or advanced research in nearly 140 countries. Application deadline: August 1, 1996. CIES, 3007 Tilden Street, NW, Ste. 5M, Box GNEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009; Ph. (202) 686-7877; e-mail: cies1@ciesnet.cies.org. CIES also has a Web site (<http://www.cies.org>) that should have the application on-line.

Czechoslovak Society Student Awards Competition

The Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences will give out one undergraduate student prize and one graduate student prize for the best paper on some aspect of Czech and/or Slovak history. The paper must be submitted by the professor for whom it was written. The winners will receive \$200, a diploma, and a one-year membership. Papers must be submitted by June 1, 1996. For guidelines contact: Vera Borkovec, 12013 Kemp Mill Rd., Silver Spring, MD 20902.

The University of Illinois, Summer Research Laboratory on Russia and Eastern Europe

Associateships available for any time between June 10 and August 4. Full library privileges, potential housing awards, workshops. Contact: Vicki Miller, Russian and East European Center, U. of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg., 910 S. Fifth Street, Champaign IL, 61820; Ph. (217) 333-1244; Fax: (217) 333-1582.

IREX Short-term Travel Grants

Grants for Collaborative Activities, Senior

Scholar Travel Grants, and Grants for Independent Short Term Research. Deadline: June 1, 1996. Contact: IREX at 1616 H St., NW, Washington, DC 20006; Ph. (202) 628-8188; FAX: (202) 628-8189; irex%irexmain@irex.org.



Jan Gawinski's Fortune

The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies

Short-Term Grants (up to one month) provide a stipend of \$80 per day to scholars at any level needing to use research resources in the Washington, DC area. Closing dates: June 1, Dec. 1, March 1. The institute also sponsors internships for graduate students. Interns provide research assistance to resident scholars. Applicants should have a B. A. and a good command of Russian. For information on either grants or internships, contact: Kennan Institute, 370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW, Suite 704, Washington, DC, 20024; Ph. (202) 287-3400.

The Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize For outstanding theses (senior or honors) at UCB in the social sciences and/or humanities which research some aspect of Serbian history or culture. Contact: Barbara Voytek, CSEES. Ph. 643-6736 E-mail: bvoytek@uclink.berkeley.edu.

MacArthur Foundation

Fund for foreign travel to help individuals from the FSU who have been invited to give a paper at a conference or participate in a workshop relevant to their profession. Deadlines: June 1, Sept. 1, Dec. 1. Contact: either Tatiana Zhdanova or Elizabeth McKeon, MacArthur Foundation, 8 Khlebnyi Pereulok, 2nd fl., 121069 Moscow, Russia; Ph. 095-290-5088; FAX: 095-295-6358; e-mail: macarthur@glas.apc.org; or Andrew Kuchins, 140 S. Dearborn St., Ste. 1100, Chicago IL 60603; Ph. (312)726-8000; FAX: (312) 917-0200.

National Endowment for the Humanities

Division of Research Programs and Division of Preservation and Access have funding for conferences, publications, translations, summer stipends, and dissertation grants. Deadlines range between May 15 and Oct. 16. For detailed information: NEH Overview, Room 402, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington DC 20506; Ph. (202) 606-8400; nehopa@gwuvm.gwu.edu. Deadlines and other information are also posted on the NEH bulletin board, reached via modem at (202) 606-8688.

National Research Council, Office for Central Europe and Eurasia

Collaboration in Basic Science and Engineering(COBASE) grant program. Long-term grants of \$3,000 to \$15,000 available to support US specialists visiting CEE or NIS colleagues for collaboration with research for one to six months. Only projects in scientific fields funded by the NSF will be supported. Call for deadline. Contact: Office for Central Europe and Eurasia, NRC, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington DC, 20418; Ph.: (202) 334-3680; Fax: (202) 334-2614; e-mail: occe@nas.edu.

Pew Economic Freedom Fellows Program

Five-month program of academic training and observation for emerging economic policy makers from former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. All applications must be endorsed by the ministry, department or enterprise in which

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the candidate is engaged. Takes place at Georgetown University. Deadline: August 1, 1996. Ph. (202) 687-5277; Fax. (202) 687-5288; e-mail: pewinfo@gunet.georgetown.edu.

Polish Studies, Second Biennial Prize

The Polish Studies Association seeks nominations for its Second Biennial Prize in Polish Studies (self-nominations are welcome). The prize is intended to recognize outstanding research and scholarship on Poland. Deadline: August 31, 1996. Nominations are limited to works in English published in the two years prior to the deadline. Letter of nomination, the cv of the author, and three copies of the work should be sent to Maryjane Osa, Chair of Prize Committee, Dept. of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, 29208.

Social Science Research Council/ MacArthur Foundation

Program in International Peace and Security, 1996 Visiting Scholar Fellowship Program. Junior scholars and professionals from Central and Eastern Europe and the non-Russian successor states engaged in innovative research on peace and security issues at major universities outside their home regions. Deadline: July 15. Contact: Robert Latham, SSRC, 605 Third Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, NY 10158; Ph. (212) 661-0280; Fax: (212) 370-7896; e-mail: chiplckd@acfcluster.nyu.edu.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Short Term Grants. Grants for research to be conducted in Washington, D C are available to advanced graduate students as well as PhDs. Stipend of \$80 per day for up to thirty days. Applications should include: 1-2 page proposal, c.v., and two letters of reference. Deadlines: June 1, September 1. For information contact: John R. Lampe, Director, East European Studies, The Woodrow Wilson Center, 370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW, Suite 704, Washington, DC 20024; Ph. (202) 287-3000, ext. 222; Fax: (202) 287-3772.

purposes: 1) to describe and give guidance for using the substantial Slavic-related resources on the Berkeley campus and 2) to point to information at other Internet or web sites that will help to expand the information available to local users. Folks who visit the page can see lists of recent Slavic acquisitions, a bibliography of Russian independent newspapers, guides for locating dictionaries, and maps of interest to Slavic and East European scholars. They can also learn what is available in other branch collections on campus or to what consortial arrangements Berkeley is a member.

Once you leave the areas containing data created at Berkeley and venture out onto the WWW, you can read various news services, collections of Russian poetry, and journals published electronically in Eastern Europe. The web browser available on the workstations in the main library and most branch locations is also capable of displaying texts encoded to appear in the native Cyrillic script. This is useful for connecting to web pages produced in Russia and countries that use Cyrillic-based languages. Instructions for changing the settings so that Cyrillic can be displayed on the library web is available through the Slavic collections main page.

Classes on using the WWW are provided throughout the academic year by the Teaching Library and you can find a schedule of classes by going to their web page. Special instructions for Slavic-related topics can be arranged by contacting Allan Urbanic, librarian for Slavic collections, at 643-6649 or via e-mail: aurbanic@library.berkeley.edu. Patrons are welcome to come to the library to use the workstations and judge for themselves whether the "electronic future" looks bright or dim.

Networked CD-ROMS and databases on Melvyl

Electronic information is not limited to what one can find on the Internet. The library subscribes to a number of

products in the CD-ROM format which can be searched the same way as one searches the on-line catalog. Most of this information is bibliographic and covers the literature of various disciplines. Some samples of this kind of data are:

Historical Abstracts (articles on European history), FBIS Index (publications of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service), Dissertation Abstracts International (a listing of dissertations back to 1860), National Trade Data Bank (Commerce Department database which includes information on foreign trade).

All of these products can be accessed through the library's local network and can serve several users simultaneously. The same workstations through which you can connect to the WWW have a menu listing all of the library's CD-ROM networked products. Guides which list these titles and explain how to search them can be found on the library's web page.

The Melvyl Catalog also acts as a gateway to electronic databases which are of great use in Slavic studies. Some titles currently available are:

ABI Inform (covering economic and business literature) MLA Bibliography (literature and language study articles) SocAbstracts (information in the field of sociology) PAIS (data on a variety of government topics provided by the Public Affairs Information Service).

All of the databases mentioned above can be used in the library. The databases on Melvyl are also accessible by dialing into the campus network and connecting to the Melvyl catalog. Proprietary databases on Melvyl, like those listed above require that the user be UC Berkeley student, faculty, or staff member in order to connect to the data off campus. Members of these groups can obtain passwords at the main library general reference service (2nd floor, Doe Library). Others can connect to all databases by coming to the library and using the terminals we provide.

A Retrospective of the Year's Events

Public Lectures and Brown Bag Lunch Series. ♦ **Hannes Adomeit**, “Russia as a ‘Great Power’ in World Affairs: Images and Reality.” ♦ **Gianmaria Ajani**, “Legal Transplants in Eastern Europe: the Case of Albania.” ♦ **Bruce Allyn**, “Peace-Keeping and Peace-Preventing: International Interventions in the Post-Soviet Regions.” ♦ **Sergei Arutinov**, “The Cultural Roots of Ethnic Radicalization in the North Caucasus.” ♦ **Jean-Loup Amselle**, “Anthropology and the Hardening of Identities with Special Reference to Africa and Eastern Europe.” ♦ **Harley Balzer**, “Russia’s Missing Middle Class: the History and Legacy of Russian Professions.” ♦ **Mark Beissinger**, “How Nationalism Spreads: Contentious Politics and Nationalist Mobilization in the Former Soviet Union.” ♦ **Laurie Bernstein**, “The Evolution of Soviet Adoption Law.” ♦ **Gennady Bordiugov**, “Current Historiographical Directions in Russia.”” ♦ **Czeslaw Milosz, Harsha Ram, Robert Hughes**, and **Gregory Freidin**, “Memorial Lecture for Joseph Brodsky.” ♦ **Manuel Castells** and **Emma Kiselyova**, “The Collapse of Soviet Communism: A View from the Information Society.” ♦ **Levon Chookaszian**, “The Image and Importance of the Armenian Woman in Art.” ♦ **John Dunlop**, “Monitoring the Russian Elections: A Report from Arkhangel’sk Oblast.” ♦ **Carol Emerson**, “Bakhtin and Dostoevski: Centennial Reflections.” ♦ **Christian Filipov**, “Privatization Issues in Eastern Europe: Focus on Bulgaria.” ♦ **David Frick**, “Franklin’s free Will; or, Optimism in Cracow, 1798.” ♦ **Leslie Gladysko** and **Nathalie Borgers**, Film Presentation: *Truth Under Siege, War in the Former Yugoslavia.* ♦ **Oleg Gubin**, “Social Stratification and Equality in Post-Soviet Russia.” ♦ **Nikolai Hovhannessian**, “The Republic of Armenia: Politics and Diplomacy.” ♦ **Raffi K. Hovhannessian**, “From Empire to Independence: the Armenian Case.” ♦ **Richard Hovhannessian**, “The Republic of Armenia: A Retrospective - Five Volumes Later.” ♦ **Jerzy Illg**, “The Limits and Challenges of Polish Literature Under Communist Control and in Free Market Conditions.” ♦ **Oleg Kharkhordin**, “By Deeds Alone: The Party Purges and the Origins of Individualization in Soviet Russia.” ♦ **Yuri A. Kleiner**, “Russian Emigrant Speech in Brighton Beach.” ♦ **Leszek Koczanowicz**, “Polish Nationalism and National Identity.” ♦ **Tadeusz Kowalik**, “The Social Cost of Central and East European Transformation.” ♦ **Sergei Kudryashov**, “Stalin’s Foreign Policy, 1937-48.” ♦ **Elena Kuzina**, “Horses, Chariots and the Indo-Iranians of the Steppes.” ♦ **Nenad Lipovac**, “The Natural and Cultural Heritage in Regional and Town Planning in Croatia.” ♦ **Katrina Menzgian**, “Geopolitics of the Azeri Oil Industry.” ♦ **Ognyan Minchev**, “The Balkans, Russia, and the NATO Extension to the East.” ♦ **Svetlana Mintz**, “The History of Architecture and the Fine Arts in Defining Individual and Group Identity in the Study of Russian Culture.” ♦ **Norman Naimark**, “Problems in Reconstructing the East German Past: Memory and Archives.” ♦ **Marc Nichanian**, “Modern Armenian Literature: Outcry and Mutism.” ♦ **Michael Ochs**, “Post-Election Azerbaijan: Domestic Stability, Geo-Politics, and Foreign Relations.” ♦ **Yuri Orlov**, “The Probability of Neo-Totalitarian Regime in Russia.” ♦ **Ankica Petrovic**, “The Role of Women in the Creation, Interpretation, and Preservation of Traditional Music in the Balkans.” ♦ **Sergei Porshakov**, “The 1996 Presidential Elections and Russian Elites.” ♦ **Martin Prochazka**, “Humanities at the Czech University: Continuities, Changes, Stresses, Prospects.” ♦ **Mark Sergeev**, “The Literature and Culture of Siberia.” ♦ **Alla Skvortsova**, “The Current Ethnopolitical Situation in Moldova.” ♦ **Natalia Shishlina**, “The Role of the Horse in Bronze Age Nomadism: Ecological and Cultural Adaptation in the Black and Caspian Steppe Regions.” ♦ **Vladimir G. Sirokin**, “Russia on the Eve of the Presidential Elections: An Insider’s View.” ♦ **Daniel Sneider**, “A Regionwide Approach to Security in the Caucasus.” ♦ **Ronald G. Suny**, “The Karabakh Question: A Soluble Problem.” ♦ **Dubravka Ugresic**, “Witches and War(locks) in the Balkans.” ♦ **Laszlo Urban**, “A Record of Economic Transition in Eastern Europe: Policies, Successes, and Failures.” ♦ **Tibor Varady**, “Minorities in the Former Yugoslavia after Dayton.” ♦ **Katherine Verdery**, “Faith, Hope and Caritas: Pyramid Schemes in Post-1989 Romania.” ♦ **Gyorgi S. Vlasenko**, “Language and Politics: Lexicon vs. Dictatorship.” ♦ **Robert Weinberg**, “The Jewish Revival in Post-War Birobidzhan.” ♦ **David Wolff**, “The Many Faces of Regionalism: Russia’s Far East Today.” ♦ **Susan Woodward**, “Prospects for Bosnia-Herzegovina.” ♦ **Igor Zevelev**, “Russia and the Russian Diasporas: The Road to Domination in Eurasia?” ♦ **Andrzej Zybertowicz**, “The Communist Elite and the Transition to a Market Economy in Poland.”

Panels, Conferences, Colloquia, and Symposia. ♦ Panel on “The Russian Elections: Who Won, Why and Who Cares?” ♦ Symposium on “The Russian Stravinsky” followed by the dance performance of Stravinsky’s *Les Noces* by the Pokrovsky Ensemble. ♦ Twentieth Annual Stanford-Berkeley Conference, “Strategies of Nationhood: From National Assimilation to Ethnic Cleansing.” ♦ Polish Film Presentation with **Maria Zmarz-Koczanowicz** followed by a panel discussion on “Contemporary Polish Life and the Films of Maria Zmarz-Koczanowicz.” ♦ Public Conference on “Ethnographies of Transition: the Political and Cultural Dimensions of Emergent Market Economies in Russia and Eastern Europe.” ♦ Conference on “Russia, 1913: A Cultural Reconstruction.” ♦ “The Second Tartu-Berkeley Colloquium: “Writing Russian Cultural History.”” ♦ Caucasus Conference: “The Past as Prelude: Cultural, Social, and Political Roots of Identity in the Caucasus.” ♦ Annual Teachers Outreach Conference: “Crisis in the Balkans: Historical Background and Current Developments in the Former Yugoslavia.” ♦ Conference on “Crime and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union.” ♦ Conference on “Double Lives: Women Writing in the Russian Tradition.” ♦ Public Seminar on Environmental Movements in Russia and the Ukraine with a delegation of environmental activists from Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Russia.

Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the Annual Giving Program, the Associates of the Slavic Center, between January 1 and May 1, 1996. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extracurricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance. (*signifies gift of continuing membership)

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Associate Membership

For those of you who are not yet members, we encourage you to join. We believe you will enjoy the stimulating programs; even if you cannot participate as often as you might wish, your continuing contribution critically supports the Center's mission and goals. This year we are not mailing a separate letter about ASC; please take a minute to read about the Associates and if possible, join.

• **Members (\$50 to \$100)** Members of ASC regularly receive Newsletter "Updates" and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

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It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Associates of the Slavic Center

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Dickran Kouymjian Appointed William Saroyan Visiting Professor at Berkeley

UC Berkeley and the UCB Armenian Alumni Association proudly announce the appointment of Dr. Dickran Kouymjian as the William Saroyan and Krouzian Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies for the fall 1996 semester. Dr. Kouymjian, who is the Haig and Isabel Berberian Professor of Armenian Studies and the Director of the Kalfayan Center at California State University, Fresno, will be teaching two courses during the fall semester: IAS 150 Section 1. *Armenian Film* (cross-listed as Film Studies 160. National Cinema); and IAS 150 Section 2. *William Saroyan* (cross-listed as English 166. Special Topics). For further information about the Berkeley Armenian Studies program and on ways for outside individuals to attend the above classes, please call the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, (510) 642-3230.

The Armenian Studies Program at Berkeley is made possible through two endowments: The William Saroyan Endowment, established under the auspices of the UCB Armenian Alumni Association with contributions from the Armenian community of the Bay Area and elsewhere, and the Krouzian Endowment, established by Krikor Krouzian and Zovinar Krouzian Davidian in memory of their parents.

Dr. Kouymjian is a well-known authority on Armenian history, art, and literature. He received his BA from the University of Wisconsin at Madison, his MA from the American University of Beirut, and his Ph.D. from Columbia University, majoring in Armenian studies. He has held academic positions at Columbia, the University of Paris, the American University in Paris, the American University, and elsewhere. He has many publications and is an active member of several scholastic organizations.

Center for Slavic and East European Studies

International and Area Studies

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